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Message Text

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13
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 OMB-01 PCH-02 EUR-25 /154 R

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AF/RA - MR. WALKER
USUN - MS. WERNER (PARA 13)
EA - MR. SNEIDER (DRAFT)
---------- 009451
R 032305Z OCT 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH
XMT BANJUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 197244

E O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UN, KN, KS
SUBJECT: KOREA IN 28TH UNGA

REF: A. STATE 162623; B. STATE 182916
C. USUN 3129 (REPEATED SEPTEL)

1. FOLLOWING SENT ACTION TO: ABIDJAN, ACCRA, ADDIS ABABA, BANJUL, BLANTYRE, COTONOU, DAKAR, GABORONE, KIGALI, LIBREVILLE, MBABANE, MONROVIA, NAIROBI, NDJAMENA, NIAMEY, OUAGADOUGOU, PORT LOUIS, TANANARIVE, TUNIS, YAOUNDE.

2. KOREAN ITEM IN UNGA THIS YEAR IS MAJOR US POLICY CONCERN. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE SUPPLEMENTS REF A, FOCUSSING CONFIDENTIAL

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SPECIFICALLY ON PROVISIONS DRAFT FRIENDLY RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO UN (REF B). POSTS SHOULD UTILIZE THIS MATERIAL AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF HOST GOVERNMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS (EXCEPT WHERE REGARDED SELF-DEFEATING)

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TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM FEASIBLE SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLY DRAFT RESO-
LUTION AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RESOLUTION. (SEE ALSO
PARA 13 BELOW) ROK AND OTHER CO-SPONSORS, PARTICULARLY
JAPAN AND UK, ARE SIMILARLY ACTIVE AND EFFORTS SHOULD BE
MADE TO ASSURE APPROACHES ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING AND
TAILORED TO LOCAL SITUATION.

3. OVERALL AIM OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS TO PROMOTE
PEACE AND STABILITY IN KOREA AND TO FACILITATE NEGOTIA-
TIONS LEADING TO DETENTE BETWEEN ROK AND DPRK. WE SEE
OPPOSING RESOLUTION AS DE-STABILIZING AND LEADING TO
CONFRONTATION BECAUSE OF ITS HARMFUL EFFECT ON ARMISTICE
ARRANGEMENT, ITS SUPPORT OF UNREALISTIC NORTH KOREAN
POSITION ON UNIFICATION, AND ITS UNWARRANTED ATTACK ON
US TROOP PRESENCE. WE BELIEVE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WITH
PEACEFUL EVOLUTION IN KOREAN PENINSULA SHOULD FIND MERIT
IN OUR BASIC APPROACH. WE SEEK TO AVOID CONTENTIOUS
DEBATE IN UNGA AND OUR RESOLUTION (IN CONTRAST TO THAT
OF THE OTHER SIDE) DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE SOLUTION
ON EITHER PARTY.

4. OPERATIVE PARA 1 WELCOMES NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE TO
EASE TENSION AND PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACEFUL UNIFICATION.
AS SECRETARY TOLD UNGA SEPTEMBER 24, "NORTH AND SOUTH
KOREA ARE AT LAST ENGAGED IN A DIALOGUE WHICH WE HOPE
WILL LEAD TO A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND SECURITY."

5. UNCURK. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 OF FRIENDLY RESOLU-
TION CONFIRMS UNCURK RECOMMENDATION OF OWN DISSOLUTION
AND AS SUCH CONSTITUTES GESTURE TO DPRK AS WELL AS
ACKNOWLEDGMENT TWO KOREAS THEMSELVES BEST QUALIFIED TO
PURSUE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA. ("HOSTILE"
RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY ALGERIA AND OTHERS ALSO CALLS
FOR DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, SO THIS INVOLVES NO REAL
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ISSUE).

6. CONCURRENT MEMBERSHIP. COSPONSORS HAVE CAREFULLY
TAILORED FRIENDLY RESOLUTION TO MEET OBJECTIONS THAT
UNGA MUST NOT FOIST UN MEMBERSHIP UPON AN UNWILLING
DPRK. OPERATIVE PARA 3 THUS ONLY "EXPRESSES HOPE"
TWO KOREAS WILL "CONSIDER MEMBERSHIP" AS MEANS OF FUR-
THERING PEACE AND THUS EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION. RESOLU-
TION DOES NOT INSIST UPON MEMBERSHIP, AND US HAS NO
INTENTION OF PRESSING ISSUE IN SECURITY COUNCIL AT
PRESENT TIME. AS WITH UN ENTRY OF FRG AND GDR, FRIENDLY
RESOLUTION RECOGNIZES REALITIES THAT PEACEFUL UNIFICA-
TION UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS IS UNLIKELY AND NO ALTERNA-
TIVE FOR PRESENT BUT CONTINUATION TWO KOREAS, AND OFFERS
BENEFITS TO BOTH SIDES. SECRETARY SUMMARIZED US VIEW TO
UNGA SEPTEMBER 24 SAYING "THE EXCLUSION OF ANY QUALIFIED

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STATE DENIES REPRESENTATION NOT ONLY TO GOVERNMENTS,
BUT TO PEOPLES. MEMBERSHIP IN THIS BODY SHOULD BE A
STEP TOWARD RECONCILIATION, NOT A SOURCE OF CONFLICT.
-

THE TIME HAS COME FOR NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO BE OFFERED
THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACES HERE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO A FUTURE
EVOLUTION TOWARD UNIFICATION."

7. US REGRETS APPARENT DPRK OPPOSITION TO UN MEMBERSHIP
WE STILL HOPE THAT IN SPIRIT OF UNIVERSALITY -- AND
GIVEN PREVIOUS NORTH KOREAN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL
RECOGNITION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS
AND ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS --
DPRK WILL COME TO VIEW UN ADMISSION FAVORABLY. WHERE
APPROPRIATE, YOU MAY NOTE INCONSISTENCY OF DPRK POSITION
SEEKING ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
I.E. WHO, WHILE OPPOSING ADMISSION TO UN. ALTHOUGH
MOST RECENTLY DPRK TAKES POSITION THAT ONLY UNIFIED
KOREA SHOULD BE ADMITTED, APPLICATIONS OF ROK AND DPRK
HAVE BEEN BEFORE UNSC SINCE LATE 1940S. ADMISSION OF
TWO KOREAN STATES WOULD IN OUR VIEW PROMOTE PEACE AND
STABILITY BY BRINGING THEM WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN
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CHARTER OBLIGATIONS AND THEREBY ENHANCING SECURITY OF
EACH VIS-A-VIS THE OTHER. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR FROM
TEXT OF RESOLUTION AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF CO-SPONSORS
THAT ADMISSION NEED NOT PREJUDICE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION
OF KOREAS WHICH REMAINS QUESTION FOR BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

8. UN COMMAND. BECAUSE OF WORLD-WIDE IMPLICATIONS
OF ANY CONFLICT ON KOREAN PENINSULA, SECURITY ALONG THE
DEMILITARIZED ZONE IS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO EVERY
MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HOWEVER FAR IT MAY BE
GEOGRAPHICALLY FROM KOREA. PREMATURE OR PRECIPITOUS
MOVE BY UNGA AGAINST UNC, IN ABSENCE AGREED ALTERNATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS, COULD IMPAIR VALIDITY OF ARMISTICE AGREE-
MENT (WHICH ESTABLISHED DEMILITARIZED ZONE)AND ENHANCE
RISK OF RENEWED CONFLICT INSOFAR AS AGGRESSION MIGHT
BE DEPICTED AS INTERNAL CONFLICT OUTSIDE SCOPE OF UN.
ACCORDINGLY, WE BELIEVE GA SHOULD NOT ADDRESS DISSOLU-
TION OF UNC UNTIL ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENTS EXIST WHICH
MIGHT BE WORKED OUT BY THE PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING
THE ROK AND DPRK (WHICH SO FAR HAS SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS
TO DO SO). OPERATIVE PARA 4 OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS
CAREFULLY STRUCTURED TO INDICATE NEED TO MAINTAIN
ARMISTICE AGREEMENT FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN AREA,
WHILE SIGNALLING WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE
ARRANGEMENTS (WITHOUT HOWEVER INTRODUCING POSSIBLY
CONTENTIOUS SPECIFICS WHICH COULD BE MORE APPROPRIATELY

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DISCUSSED AMONG THE PARTIES CONCERNED).

9. POSTS SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT OPERATIVE PARA 4 IS CLEAR INDICATION OF ROK, AND US, WILLINGNESS TO LOOK CONSTRUCTIVELY TO FUTURE, AND DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE DIGGING OURSELVES INTO RIGID POSITION IN FAVOR OF PERPETUATION OF UNC. WE RECOGNIZE TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THERE MUST BE READJUSTMENTS IN UN PRESENCE IN KOREA, BUT BELIEVE SUCH READJUSTMENTS MUST NOT BE IMPOSED AND MUST COME THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND IN MANNER THAT WILL NOT DESTABI-
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LIZE SITUATION.

10. ALTHOUGH HOSTILE RESOLUTION SEEKS TO CONNECT UNCURK AND UNC WITH PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA, LATTER IS COMPLETELY SEPARATE QUESTION AND IN OUR VIEW INAPPROPRIATE FOR UNGA RESOLUTION. CONTINUED PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA IS BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN ROK AND US. RIGHT OF A COUNTRY TO INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS FOR PURPOSE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IS IMPLICIT IN ARTICLE 51 OF UN CHARTER. MOREOVER, WHEN US TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM ROK THEY MOVE THOUSANDS OF MILES, WHEREAS TROOPS OF DPRK'S SUPPORTERS ARE ON ITS BORDERS. BOTH FAIRNESS AND RESPECT FOR CHARTER THUS DICTATE THAT UNGA NOT ATTEMPT TO TAMPER WITH SUCH BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

11. POSTS AT THEIR DISCRETION MAY NOTE THAT RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ALGIERS CONFERENCE ON KOREA IS POINT FOR POINT INSTANT REPLAY OF NORTH KOREAN POSITION AND HARDLY DESERVES CHARACTERIZATION AS NON-ALIGNED. (ALGIERS RES, AS DOES HOSTILE UNGA RES, PARROTS NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON ADMISSION OF CONFEDERATED KOREAN STATE TO UN, OPPOSITION TO ADMISSION TWO KOREAN STATES, WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES STATIONED UNDER UN FLAG, AND DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK.) SOME AFRICAN AND ARAB STATES APPEAR ATTRACTED TO SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED POSITION AND THIS TENDENCY OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US. THIS CONNECTION SIGNIFICANT IN THAT ASIDE FROM PRC AND MONGOLIA, NO EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES HAVE CO-SPONSORED HOSTILE RESOLUTION IN UNGA.

12. FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE ON KOREAN ITEM UNLIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE MID-NOVEMBER, BUT COULD OCCUR SOONER. DEPT NEEDS EARLIEST POSSIBLE INDICATION OF HOST GOVT VOTE IN ORDER REFINE OUR APPROACH AND TACTICS FOR UNGA DEBATE.

SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SHIFT FROM NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO
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ABSTENTION COULD BE AS VALUABLE TO US AS SHIFT OF FENCE-
SITTERS TO POSITIVE COLUMN. IN MAKING REPRESENTATIONS,
POSTS SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY ALERT TO REASONS HOST GOVT
MAY GIVE FOR HESITATING TO SUPPORT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH
OF FRIENDLY RES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH KOREAN
UN MEMBERSHIP OR UN COMMAND. SUBJECT TO REGIONAL COMMENTS
BELOW, WE LEAVE TO POST'S DISCRETION HOW US VIEWS CAN
MOST EFFECTIVELY BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION HOST GOVT
AND HOW THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR OBJECTIVES AND SUPPORT
FOR DRAFT RESOLUTION (AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RES)
CAN BEST BE PROMOTED. USUN WILL BE REPORTING ITS CON-
TACTS WITH INDIVIDUAL UN DELEGATIONS AND MAY IN SOME
INSTANCES RECOMMEND SPECIFIC FOLLOW-UP ACTION IN CAPITALS.
POSTS MAY ACT ON SUCH REQUESTS AT THEIR DISCRETION
WITHOUT FURTHER REFERENCE TO DEP . REPORT ALL ACTION
TAKEN TO DEPT, INFO SEOUL AND USUN.

13. NO AFRICANS CURRENTLY COSPONSOR FRIENDLY RES;
(FACT WHICH NEED NOT BE HIGHLIGHTED.) SOUTH KOREANS
BELIEVE CAR, GABON, IVORY COAST, LESOTHO, NIGER AND
SWAZILAND WILL SUPPORT FRIENDLY RES. SOUTH AFRICA AND
MOROCCO LOOK FIRM (PRETORIA 3091 AND RABAT 4399) WHILE
DEPT ESTIMATES KENYA, LIBERIA, TUNISIA, ETHIOPIA, RWANDA,
GHANA AND CHAD MIGHT BE AMENABLE TO SUPPORT OUR RES
AND AT LEAST ABSTAIN ON HOSTILE RES. DEPT UNCLEAR
REGARDING ATTITUDES OF OTHER ACTION ADDRESSEES. HOSTILE
RES COSPONSORED BY ALGERIA, BURUNDI, CONGO, EQUATORIAL
GUINEA, GUINEA, MALI, MAURITANIA, SIERRA LEONE, SOMALI
REP, SUDAN, TOGO, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE THOUGH
ZAIRE MAY BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS. MAJOR PROBLEM IS
TO MAINTAIN POSITIONS OF POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS OR ABSTAIN-
ERS IN FACE LOBBYING PRESSURES IN NEW YORK FOR NON-
ALIGNED SOLIDARITY. BELIEVE KOREANS, AND TO SOME EXTENT
JAPANESE, BRITISH, OR AUSTRALIANS MAY BE IN BETTER POSI-
TION TO MAKE APPROACHES IN SOME COUNTRIES; YOU SHOULD
COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH THESE REPRESENTATIVES AND MAY
DEFER YOUR APPROACH IF THEIRS WILL BE MORE EFFECTIVE
IN LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES. INFO ADDRESSES MAY INITIATE
DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT WHENEVER DEEMED USEFUL. RUSH

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED BANJUL.CONFIDENTIAL
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